1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. Crop Distributions

FIELD CROPS

CEREALS - WHEAT and BARLEY (*Qamh and Xghir*)

As the land use maps show (Figs. 71 and 72), cereals are grown in all regions of the Islands. Of the grains, wheat and barley alone are of importance. Some maize and millets are still grown and a few fields of sown oats were observed. *Mixta* - a mixture of wheat and barley - is now rare, although self-seeding produces some mixtures difficult to distinguish except by close examination. The practice of sowing spoilt or 'bottom of the bag' grain on odd patches of soil that would otherwise bear nothing also produces unexpected results.

Many different varieties of wheat and barley are grown - naked and bearded, short and long-awned, with short, stiff and long, weak culms. So-called 'Maltese' varieties such as *Qamh ta'Susa* and *ta'Bla Sifa*, have little homogeneity except that the wheats are all hard, bearded types. Introductions are mainly of durums from Canada. The local barleys are poor in type - short-eared, small-grained, 'dry' varieties, although the poor results are obviously partly explained by their use for cropping the harsher lands. The new barleys are also mainly of North American origin and selected for early maturation. This latter characteristic is especially of value in an environment in which barley may dry and shatter rather than ripen - this has been observed even as early as March. In so far as barley is a residual land crop, however, then innovated varieties would seem to be difficult to establish and popularise - especially since the farmers on the poorest land are the least able to indulge in experiment.

That the importance of cereal cultivation remains so great, in spite of growing dependence on imported bread grains, seems strange at first sight. Information supplied by local mills suggests that human consumption of local cereals is very small, but quantitative estimates cannot accurately be made at present. Little is known of the relative importance of domestic subsistence on the farmers' own grain crops. Davy, in 1842 (1), and witnesses before the Royal Commission of 1911 maintained that production was mainly for domestic consumption. This is still obviously true for some vegetable crops and poultry but, in the present period of continued transition from peasant farming towards commercial farming, is difficult to evaluate for cereal production. For general purposes we may however presume the validity of the assumption that Maltese-grown grains have become less important for human food. No significant amount, it is generally agreed, is used for distilling and brewing. The former is severely restricted by law, and the latter by the general unsuitability for malting - unevenness of sample is a major difficulty - of local barley. For use there then remains only production for livestock fodder - particularly for horses and cattle, although the value of a grain ration for pigs is becoming more apparent with the introduction of better breeds such as the Large White. Given this situation, the comparative ease of grain-growing in the usual rotations practised, and the difficulty of finding alternative crops for some hardland areas, results in the survival of what has been called *grande culture* - land use of which would seem to be, in many regions at least, unnecessarily extensive.

The matter of rotation is fairly simple. Debono (2), in 1911, pointed out that, after previous manuring and vegetable growing - 'there is only the sowing and the crop comes by itself. So that whether there be duty or no duty, wheat will always be cultivated here in Malta, unless there is a revaluation in the rotation of crops'. A contemporary example may be taken from a farm at tad-Dahla. On the poorer land, wheat is grown alternate years with sulla. On the better land, potatoes and vegetables are the main crops and wheat, sown incidentally as a rotation crop, then gives yields of 25-28 cwt. per acre - double that on the other fields. Any change in the proportion of wheat to other crops under this system of farming could only be a consequence of an agricultural revolution.

More complex is the importance of the grains as hardland crops. Basically, wheat and barley are dry farming crops in Malta. Without irrigation, even away

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 197]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

231 proved its superior adaptability. An interesting point is that, before 1914, Serbia
232 and Croatia exported to Malta large numbers of pigs for fattening, while Yugo-
[139] slavia is today importing Large Whites as breeders from this country. It is now illegal to use other than pedigree boars for breeding, and the success of the Agricultural Department and the relative enthusiasm of the Maltese farmer in raising pig production standards have made Malta self-sufficient in this respect at least. Local grain and imported beans form the basis of feeding stuffs given by the best farmers. Animal slaughterings now average about 30,000 head per annum.

23 Of the total cattle population of some 6,000 in Malta and 3,000 in Gozo, nearly 30 per cent. are milch cows. This proportion has increased steadily since the first introduction of milch cows in the early years of British occupation. Before 1800, the indigenous Maltese breed, raised as general purpose stock in normal [197] peasant tradition, alone was of importance. During the nineteenth century, specialised breeds were slowly introduced, a process which culminated in trials with Swiss Brown, Polish and Jersey cattle during the 1920's and '30's. By 1939, the cattle were mainly of mixed blood with the older strains predominating, and those still found are rapidly being displaced because of their low milk yields of some 1 to 1¼ gallons a day. The only surviving registered Maltese bull is to be seen on a farm at Bingemma Gap. In the post-war period, imported Ayrshires, British Friesians and Durham Shorthorns have proved very successful and popular. The Friesian strains in particular are very effective for crossing, important in that most country herds are still of mixed blood. A typical composition was noted in a stockyard on Delimara Peninsula - 13 milk cows and three heifers consisting of pure polled Maltese, Friesians, Friesian/Maltese crosses, Ayrshire/Maltese crosses, together with seven Friesian and crossed Friesian [139] calves. Store cattle, of which over 3,000 are annually imported for fattening, are of various breeds, and come in the main from within the Mediterranean region.

231 This cattle population, which supplies half of the total production of milk in
234 Malta, and approximately two-thirds in Gozo, as well as over 75 per cent. of the beef consumed, is a very special element in Maltese agriculture. The imported store cattle have but to be fattened for slaughtering. Trustworthy statistics are lacking, but it would seem that over one-half of the imported fodder is consumed for this purpose.

The milch cows are given a maintenance ration of sulla and other leguminous fodders, and a production ration of imported beans, grains and cake. Carob beans and chopped prickly pear are sometimes used, and *oxalis cernua* may also be fed in moderation.

231 This large demand for fodders has so far been met by maintaining at high
234 level the production of leguminous and grain crops. Only in recent years has it become economic to add high protein feeds. For social and health reasons the human consumption of high protein foods, milk in particular, has been 246 encouraged. It has therefore often been suggested that further concentration on production of forage crops is necessary.

It is probable that such a policy would be both uneconomic and impracticable. In the first place, as long as it requires an average of 6 lb. weight of fodder protein to produce 1 lb. weight of animal food protein, then any country with restricted land resources has to look twice at the wastage involved. Such a country, having to import either animal products or vegetable products, or even both as in the case of Malta, has little to gain by specialising in a production technique in which over three-quarters of the crops grown and imported for feed merely go to maintaining livestock in existence. Thirdly, since that land now grazed by sheep and goats is virtually unusable in any other way, they cannot be simply replaced by cattle. More cattle would mean less arable farming of food crops and this would entail either the loss of potential vegetable exports from irrigated land or, more feasibly, the improvement of arable dry-farmed crops, e.g. sorghums in place of barley.

The impracticability of a policy designed vastly to increase forage production may be proved as follows. The growing of perennial fodder crops is out of the

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by himself and will think of net profit on his sales rather than of gross receipts. 241

The second example is from a case-study (J. p.342') of a full-time mixed farmer holding 33 *tmien* of dry land (three blocks of six field plots) in Region C XX a, the Miqabba-Kirkop Plain. During the last 20 years, this farmer has built up a herd of 13 Maltese Friesian cattle including ten milch cows from a flock of six goats. Before World War II he relied on crop-sales from arable land. Now approximately half the cultivated area is given over to fodder production. Although by Maltese standards this farmer is enterprising, knowledgeable and possessed of much more than average capital, he has no mechanised equipment for tillage but relies on contract work. Each year a tractor plough and rotary cultivator are hired at a cost of between 15s. and £1 per *tomna*. The farmer still differentiates very clearly between the quality of different parts of his land, on the basis of a soil depth which varies from 8 inches to 2 feet, and on soil type distinguished by colour. Nevertheless, since he is now only really interested in livestock, and regards even fodder production as uneconomic, he has lost interest in arable farming and tends to neglect the poorer land and think of disposing of the other. This man is typical of many of the better class farmers in that the old niceties of tillage are forgotten as commercial considerations predominate, these latter a resultant of social and economic change in the Islands. 311 435 [427]

Lastly we may consider the extreme development, the farmer turned machine contractor. Only half the age of the farmers already considered, this man is much more aware of general developments in the agricultural scene, partly as a result of seven years spent as an 'emigrant' in Australia. Patrimonial land is left to the attention of other members of the family, and he is only concerned with investment in machinery for hire. This contractor now possesses a lorry, a Ferguson hydraulic lift tractor, a hydraulic shovel, triple-disc and mould-board ploughs, a rotavator as well as numerous accessories, and wants to purchase a thresher and a small combine harvester. The whole cultivation emphasis is put on mechanical effort and its ease of application. Deep-ploughing is advocated wherever possible even though he admits 'there may be drawbacks'; no qualms are felt about knocking down walls to gain admittance to fields, and considerable impatience shown towards traditional agrarian and social values. This man even complained that he was not allowed to plough on Sundays. One of his ambitions is the quintessence of the new attitude towards cultivation. It is to have a farm of 30-40 *tmien*, all in one block with no patch smaller than about an acre, the whole to be workable by tractor, thus making hand labour unnecessary, and accessible to heavy machinery. The holding should have its own farmhouse and be near to a market such as Zabbar. In this man the mechanical revolution in cultivation in Malta is epitomised, contrasting strangely with an attitude met at Rabat that the wheelbarrow is too technically revolutionary to be acceptable - 'it is not used here!' 177 241 407

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER I

The Background

Malta and her sister islands, Gozo and Comino, lie midway between Gibraltar and Lebanon, at almost the exact geographical centre of the Mediterranean. Sicily lies just 58 miles to the north, Tripoli 220 miles due south and Tunis slightly over 200 miles to the west. The Maltese archipelago thus forms a port of call between Europe and North Africa, between the Christian and the Moslem worlds. The Maltese have been in contact with both for centuries, and the cultures of both have contributed many traits which the islanders have adapted to their own use.

Malta, the largest and southernmost island, is seventeen miles long and nine miles wide, and covers an area of 95 square miles. Gozo is only nine miles by five miles, with an area of 26 square miles. Finally, the little island of Comino, which lies in the three-mile-wide channel separating the two larger islands, has an area of one square mile.

The islands are composed entirely of tertiary limestone, and the soil consists of clays and marls. Although the land rises to a maximum of little more than 800 feet near Dingli, the terrain is varied, and often broken, with jagged escarpments falling into narrow valleys, which run out to level fields. A visitor to the islands, especially during the long dry summer, is struck at once by the absence of vegetation and the rocky aspect of the countryside. This is, in part, a false impression, for although there are few trees, rubble retaining and boundary walls hide the network of small cultivated fields. Occasionally, the dark green foliage of a carob or olive tree reaches over these stone enclosures to add a sudden splash of colour to the shimmering white-yellow of the summer landscape.

The soft yellow limestone gives a continuity to the scenery. Houses, villages and whole towns seem to grow up out of the rocky matrix from which they are built, and from which they are distinguished only by the regular outline of the buildings against

[text continues on p. 3]

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

by the officials of the governing body, or *Università*. This body, which met in Mdina, the old capital of the island, was composed of representatives of the nobles, learned men, secular priests, merchants and artisans elected by all the family heads in the towns and villages of Malta and Gozo. The Knights of St. John, however, severely limited the authority of the Università, and during their final years it was little more than a public corporation responsible for the importation of scarce foodstuffs.

The Order made itself responsible for local government. It controlled and financed the local militia, police, courts, water supply, public works, hospitals and charities. The government of the Order was highly centralized, and all key posts were held by Knights, though many of the lesser administrative offices were given to Maltese nobles, lawyers and clerks. The authority of the Order was made effective in the rural areas through the police and the ten Captains who were in charge of military garrisons and arsenals, located at strategic points for internal security and defence against war parties and corsairs, and were also responsible for mobilizing the militia. This paternalistic system of administration came to an abrupt end when Napoleon drove the Knights from the islands. Their departure marked the end of an era.

Napoleon remained in Malta only eight days, but they were busy days. According to Laferla, 'it is certain that no one in the space of a few days attempted more, did more and upset the Maltese more than he did.'[1] He set up a nominated council of Maltese to see to civil administration, remodelled the tribunals along French lines and established twelve municipal councils. He abolished the nobility. He closed the University, established a central technical college and founded fifteen government elementary schools. He also sent sixty sons of wealthy families off to study at republican colleges in Paris at their parents' expense.

'All this and probably much more would the Maltese have patiently tolerated,' says Laferla, 'had Napoleon not interfered with religion.'[2] For he set out to curtail the influence of the Church. He limited the jurisdiction of the Bishop to purely ecclesiastical affairs, ordered the expulsion from the islands of all non-Maltese clergy and reduced the number of clerics. He also instituted civil marriage, gave protection to the Jews and forbade

[1] A. V. Laferla, *The Story of Man in Malta* (3rd ed.; Malta, A. C. Aquilina and Co., 1958), p. 144.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the clergy to charge for their services. Finally, he decreed that no foreign power, even the Pope, might interfere in local religious administration.

By these acts, the French attacked values that were at the very foundation of the Maltese social structure. Moreover, the new government aggravated the discontent by its failure to meet its financial commitments. Less than two months later, the suppressed hostility flared into savage revolt when the authorities tried to auction off the property of the Carmelite church in Mdina. The citizens rose, massacred the town's garrison and burned their bodies. Then, led by Notary Vitale and Canon Caruana, a powerful cotton merchant who later became Bishop, they penned up the main French force under General Vaubois behind the fortifications of Valletta and the Three Cities. Two years later the French surrendered to the British force which had come to assist the Maltese.

Under British rule, Malta changed from a theocracy ruled by a religious order, to a self-governing colony with an active internal political life. Administrative posts gradually passed to Maltese hands, and today the civil service, apart from a few foreign experts, is completely Maltese. But in spite of a long flirtation with various forms of local and regional government, there are still no village mayors or councillors. The new civic committee in Gozo is an exception which will be discussed in the following chapter. Early in their rule, the British abolished the Università. To appease the wounded dignity of the nobles, they divided Malta into six districts under the nominal authority of Lords Lieutenant, chosen from the nobility. These officers were in charge of civil affairs, and presided over district courts. Each was assisted by syndics, deputies with magisterial powers, who lived in the villages. In 1839, this system of local government was abandoned as inefficient and costly, and district magistrates, also called syndics, were appointed from the class of advocates. Later, the government established district consultative committees to advise it on local needs and to coordinate health measures during epidemics. These committees were only partly successful, and were also abandoned. In 1896 the government finally abolished the office of syndic, and, in the interest of economy, closed the last district courts in 1913. After that, except for the Magistrate's Court in Gozo, the administration of justice remained centralized in Valletta.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

In the early years of its rule, Britain moved slowly but firmly to restrict the authority of the Church. As one of its first steps, it imposed a mortmain law which forced the Church to sell off bequests of immovable property within one year. In 1828, it abolished the right of sanctuary and restricted the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts to purely spiritual matters. Shortly afterwards, the Diocese of Malta, until then subject to the Metropolitan of Palermo, was made directly dependent on the Holy See.

In spite of the inroads Britain made on the power of the Church, the relations between the two have, on the whole, remained extremely cordial. This friendliness has been due very largely to the considerable protection which Britain has given to the Church in Malta. To begin with, it is protected from the competition of other religions. The missionary activities of groups such as the Bible Society and the Salvation Army have been severely restricted. Moreover, the government reserves the right to ban public religious ceremonies by non-Catholics if they threaten to disturb the peace. Catholic precepts regarding education and marriage are also safeguarded, for education is on Catholic religious principles, and divorce and civil marriage are not possible under Maltese law. Furthermore, the Archbishop is accorded high honour, and in the jealously guarded order of precedence he is second only to the Governor. Both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Gozo are exempt from the jurisdiction of the criminal courts.

In addition, the first Maltese elected government passed a law in 1922, declaring the Roman Catholic religion the religion of the country. Article 161 of the Malta Criminal Code makes it a criminal offence to vilify in public the Catholic religion or its ministers.[1]

Constitutional development in Malta has been a painful and slow process; for it is not a simple matter to give representative government to a fortress. The first constitution in 1835 provided for a council of government composed of five office holders, including the Governor and the Bishop, and three nominated dignitaries. Since then, there have been no less than nine different constitutions. Those promulgated before the First World War established an oligarchical system. Property restrictions on those allowed to vote and hold office resulted in elections by and for members of the landed, professional and merchant classes. Further-

[1] Act XVIII, 1933.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

landlords and other important people who influence the affairs of the country live and work in the city or its suburbs. Finally, the greater part of the island's wage-earning population travels to work in this area.

Differences in language, dress and education set many of the villagers apart from their urban compatriots. That this should be so is not surprising, for the inhabitants of the city have been in contact with the country's foreign masters for many centuries. The Maltese upper classes, and those who aspire to be so considered, have studiously imitated the manners, speech and dress of these foreign residents. An English visitor early in the seventeenth century remarked on this contrast between the townsmen, who struck him as being 'altogether frenchified', and the countrymen, whom he described as 'half clad, and indeed a miserable people'.[1]

There is a noticeable difference between the heavy consonants and broad vowels of the uneducated countryman, and the English-accented Maltese of the inhabitants of Sliema, many of whose children speak more English than Maltese. There are also differences in vocabulary and inflection, for the language spoken in Valletta and the towns contains many more Italian and English words and expressions than the village Maltese. In fact, their preference for foreign words has given the inhabitants of Sliema the collective, and slightly derogatory, nickname of *tal-mama*, which derives from their habit of using the Italian word *mamà* (mother) instead of the Maltese *omm*. Village children, however, are now taught a standard Maltese at school, and they are urged to substitute this, *il-Malti bil-pulit*, for their local dialects.

The social and cultural differences between town and country have led to the creation of stereotypes. The typical townsman was often described to me by villagers as a white-collar worker who goes to cocktail parties, tries to look like an Englishman – pipe, tweeds and moustache – and speaks English to his children. The villager, on the other hand, is portrayed as an illiterate rustic who spends his money on wine and fireworks, without a thought for the future of his children. Both caricatures, of course, are gross exaggerations, but each, none the less, contains elements of truth. But many farmers and poor village labourers make great sacrifices in order to give their children an education beyond the elementary level.

[1] George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun A.D. 1610* (London, W. Barnett, 1615), p. 234.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

The belief still lingers that the
764 lamp must remain lighted for forty days, during which the soul
765 of the departed remains above the flame.

764 (g) Some families give the poor bread. The love-feasts of
735 the primitive Christians were in mediaeval times replaced in
171 both Malta and Sicily by the distribution of cakes and of boiled wheat mixed with sesame. Distributions of meat and bread to the poor came also to be a custom at some *festas*, but were continued in Sicily mainly by the giving of beans and bread on All Souls' Day.[1] In Malta on that day, however, the old custom has been replaced by the free kitchens or the "Potage for the Poor" (*Borma tal-Fqâr*).

765 Mourning customs in Malta have during the last century
178 passed through wide changes and, as in other European countries, have reverted to a more simple type. Some are purely
[177] mediaeval, and are influenced by the prolonged intercourse with
[192] Sicily and Italy during the rule of the Grand Masters. The vernacular term for mourning is *vistu*, corresponding to the Sicilian *visitusu* ("to be in mourning").

765 The wearing of special mourning clothes was general in the
292 fourteenth century, but became less marked by the year 1700.
178 Women used to wear woollen trailing skirts and dark shawls
184 over their heads. Some better-class people wore one black transparent veil over the head and another veil of black silk taffeta over the gown, reaching to the waist. A sort of Majorca woollen cloth is prescribed for mourning wear to the heirs under a will of A.D. 1543. The Grand Master's suite wore a special garment called *Scoto*, of thin light serge. Although it is nowadays customary with some families to put on as little mourning as possible and to shorten its period, a full mourning dress is worn by others for two full years after the death of parents. The simplest style of mourning, a black necktie and a crape arm band, is in general use after the death of a distant relative.

765 Family mourning is generally observed as follows:—
178 I. Closure of business premises, a mourning notice being affixed to the door.

[562] II. Women keep indoors for a few weeks, only going out in

[1] G. Pitrè, *Spettacoli e Feste Popolari*, vol. xii. p. 407.

5: Cremona B-3, 4 (no date) 1923
EZ6 Malta EZ6

Bombazine (without lace) or silk faldettas are now
292 the popular style. The vernacular *čulqâna* and *ghonnella* for
192 the *faldetta* point to its probable origin; the word *ghonnella* is
765 derived from the Italian *gonnella*. The term *falda*, with its
178 diminutive *faldetta* (skirt), suggests that this hood or wimple
301 represents the tail of the skirt put over the head inside out in wet weather. Black stone trinkets are worn in place of those of gold. Women in both villages and towns who cannot afford to buy special trinkets cover their earrings with black stuff.

764 The old funeral rites, described by Abela and Ciantar from extracts from wills of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries,
[171] are only faint survivals of the gorgeous pseudo-pagan rites
[177] which prevailed in all parts of continental Europe up to the period of the Reformation, and in Malta when under Italian influence. Up to 1872 the burial of the dead generally took
[192] place in churches or in churchyards (Maltese *zuntier*, from French *cimetière*). This still continues in country places, where
[671] people have family vaults. A law providing for extra-mural interment was proposed by De Rohan (A.D. 1775-1797), but it was only enforced by the Police Law of 1869, when a public cemetery was provided in 1871.

764 Since the adoption of the new burial law, funeral customs
178 have assumed a very simple character. Old custom required that the dead body should be placed on a handbarrow or in a coffin with a cushion stuffed with laurel and orange leaves
[534] fixed under the head. The body was then conveyed to the church, with the relatives and friends following, and the wailing of the mourners accompanied by the sound of bagpipes, which in some villages are now replaced by violins and counterbases to which lamentations are sung. Since the opening of the Addolorata Cemetery the dead are generally transported in
[533] hearses. The tolling of funeral bells was once so important that in many wills careful provision was made for it, and it even
[177] rivalled the usual charitable bequests. This corresponds to
764 Sicilian custom in the fifteenth century. After burial of the corpse, a black carpet or coverlet, or a velvet counterpane, was laid over the grave, and left there for some days. The offering
[184] of flowers to the dead is at present in great favour amongst the less educated, but some of the higher class object to it as a pro-

fanation

829 157 a policy of long term assurances for agriculture" (D/387, p.39). He claims that the Government "ought" to guarantee his prices, his markets, and "ought" to find the foreign export markets, and provide machinery, subsidies, etc. He also insists, incongruously, that farmers' needs could well be served by a strong and well-organized Union of Farmers and yet, in the next breath, he will reject outright any suggestions that he, individually, might take a prominent part in such a movement. The nature of this attitude emerges clearly from the collection of complaints and comments, made by farmers to Fr. Cirillo and his Royal University team (B/387). On the one hand, the farmer demands Government support for farming but, on the other hand, he speaks even of his fellow farmers as "they". Conservative, cautious and usually illiterate, he is quick to speak but slow to act (v.Section 4).

829 The new awareness of horizons outside the village is consequently limited in extent and confined in nature. The farmer's son, however, with his education and emancipation and his ideas of social and economic emulation, has a clearer vision of the illogicality of his father's situation but is not yet sufficiently mentally liberated from the past to see for himself any right course of action.

554 369 (7) As a class, the farmer is low on the social scale. This arises partly from his illiteracy and the features outlined in (6) and is partly also the outcome of a tradition of wealth and education being confined to the cities and [177] towns. Wealth and culture came easily to the urban section of Maltese society and both implied foreign contacts on a large scale. Meanwhile the Maltese farmer toiling in his fields remained cut off socially as well as economically. Today this felt inferiority puts him

178 554

(a) in a weak position for bargaining with Government and 'officials' and business men fully prepared to take advantage of their rather better education,

(b) - if young and literate, in the position of being anxious to escape from his lowly class by leaving the village and farming as opportunity presents itself (v.Section 4).

654 178 (8) Official policy has been to assist farming in the Islands by means of a variety of subsidies and guarantees designed to protect the farmer from unfavourable competition and fluctuations in market demand (Sections 2 and 4). The industry has, in the past, received such attention only in time of siege of widespread unemployment. The basic intention today is therefore

[135] (a) to enable Malta's only basic industry - agriculture - to develop under protection for it is held that "In an Island where mineral resources are non-existent agriculture must play a predominant part in the national economy" (B/239, p.2).

*159 829 178 [554] [793] [626] [177] [791] [651] As village-weighman he has a high social standing in the district. His literacy, spacious house, and herd of cows further enhance his status. He maintains that within the village the place of the Parish priest is as ever it was "in spite of the new learning". He notes that the increasing number of dissenting voices in the village are kept firmly in their place by the pressure of public opinion but that political rivalry, a comparatively recent feature in the village, is growing. The returning emigrant brings new ideas - including some on religion - but the strength of the Church remains much less questioned than is the case in the towns. Censu shares the still general view that money given to the Church is "payment towards the good of the community". Money paid to the Government in the form of taxes would, on the other hand, be regarded as an imposition bringing no benefit to the individual, and therefore to be avoided.

CASE XII : Summary.

*159 423 427 (A cows' milk producer and village weighman.)

A. Land.

33 Tmien in Mqabba-Kirkop Plain:
4 Field plots in 3 parcels, on Terra Rossa Soils and Xero-Rendzinas.
All leased from 2 landlords: Total rent £34 per annum.

*159 241 B. Utilisation.

Over 5 Tmien wasteland.
Main concentration on fodder, which accounted for 74% crop area in 1957/58, as against only 33% in 1956/57 winter season.
2 tmien under barley - pulled green.
3 tmien under sulla.
6¼ tmien under vetches.
5 tmien under wheat.
c.10 tmien under potatoes.
Remainder under vegetables, prickly pear and fallow.
Main cash crops potatoes and onions.

*159 231 234 C. Livestock.

Late 1957 - 13 head of cattle (10 milch cows, 2 calves, 1 service bull). All Maltese Friesian. 10 goats; 1 ewe; 2 horses; 50 poultry; rabbits.
This herd was built up from 6 goats, 4 sheep and 1 cow in 1938.

*159 [423] [454] [407] D. Capital.

- No freehold land. Owns large village house.
- No statement as to capital reserves but general evidence suggests a sum of the order of £1500.
- Equipment - no machinery, but normal range of local tools.

*159 464 [465] [429] 241 [407] E. Labour.

- Family labour - one 30 year old son.
- In 1956 male hired labour amounted to 60 days, and female to 90 days.
  Cost - men c.£1 a day, women c.1/- a day.
  Hand labour almost entirely for sowing during autumn and winter and harvesting in early summer.
- Hires heavy tractor plow, rotary cultivator and threshing machine each year. Costs of contract plowing 15/- to £1 a tmien.

*159 159 829 rojection of his village background, and his attitude to agricultural and other authorities in the Islands all mark him out as apart from the 'traditional' kind of farmer. At the same time, however, his case reflects the frustration and impatience of his own generation in the agricultural community.

*159 423 167 177 241 [441] He comes of a village family in which his father and paternal grand-father were both butchers. His father acquired a small farm of some two acres to provide vegetables for the family but neither Ġanni nor his brother, a few years his junior, was keen to expand the family holding. The family butchering business held no more attraction for them and was relinquished by the father when he retired from full-time work some years ago to run a small bar in the village. Both the brothers thought that neither butchering nor farming presented scope for money making so they emigrated to Australia. Ġanni's seven years there left him unsympathetic towards farming as practised in Malta, with its fragmentation, hand-labour and other limitations. He saw mechanization on the Australian pattern, with tractor-drawn, three-furrow plows, combine-harvesters and a variety of other large implements, as the only way to make Maltese farming a profitable venture.

*159 177 241 409 He returned home full of ideas of making money as a contractor-plowman. His native knowledge of Maltese farmers and farming left him with no illusions as to possibilities. Ġanni's subsequent efforts to find takers for his deep-plowing have entailed a hard fight against prejudice and criticism. Clearly many of the objections raised as to his methods and machines being unsuitable for Maltese conditions have not been without foundation but he has pushed ahead, working over a larger area, buying new types of machinery, etc.

The present discussion is concerned less with the technical details of this kind of heavy mechanization in Malta than with the attitudes which it reveals - especially the tremendous gulf in outlook between the older farmers and the few <u>young</u> men like Ġanni who are still making some effort in Maltese farming. It is held that these latter are more important than their present numbers would suggest since, without their sustained effort, an economic and social continuity will be lost. They are individuals upon whom some new or improved farming could be built in Malta and Gozo.

*159 241 829 <u>Ġanni's view of farming in Malta.</u>

"Farming in Malta is today generally uneconomical because of the high costs of the necessary hand-labour and because of the difficulties facing the mechanisation of field-work" (Ġanni). He attributes what he regards as the present dismal prospect of Maltese agriculture to the lack of a guaranteed exportable crop, on the one hand, and to the lack of direction to the farmer from the agricultural authorities, on the other. Nevertheless he believes that neither

113 The War of 1939-45 gave rise to a crop of literature in
195 Italy, Britain and other countries with solitary Malta as the object of both propaganda and admiration.

191 As to language, it is clear the War finally killed the
197 greater part of the pro-Italian feeling in Malta and confir-
177 med English as the first foreign tongue of the people. It
178 had been a language of government for more than a century but had not replaced Italian in education or at law until the inter-War period. Italian had grown to first place under the Order and had maintained its position during British nineteenth century rule except in Government and commerce.

Maltese itself, meanwhile, had not escaped from its traditional rôle as 'kitchen-tongue' and, in fact, did not replace Italian as one of the two official languages of Malta until as late as 1934. Thereby Maltese achieved, for the first time, respectability in Malta. There has since been a considerable increase in the number of books and periodicals appearing in the language, along with general education and spread of literacy among a monoglot Maltese public. Over the same period the use of Italian has declined relatively (even in its traditional strongholds, the Church and the professional classes) and the demand for English has accelerated. In fact, for a small section of the urban population of Malta, English is now the mother-tongue and Maltese the second language. An illustration of
[204] the changed linguistic picture is afforded by the following classification of daily newspapers in Malta by language for 1888 ("Il Compagno per Tutti", 1888), 1920 (B/94 - 1920, p.339), 1933-34 (B/94 - 1933-34, p.409), and 1959 (B/97 - 1959, p.99).

	1888	1920	1933-34	1959
English.....	1	1	2	2
Italian.....	3	2	2	-
English and Italian...	-	-	1	-
Maltese.....	-	-	2	2

197 Since Maltese has approached respectability as a literary
214 language in its own country for only a quarter-century Maltese
[212] themselves have usually written in either Italian, as formerly, or in English, as is the case today. But, apart from this, it is clear that a Maltese language publication cannot expect to find a market outside the Islands nor among the significant section of the population, generally the professional and business classes, speaking English and Italian as well as Maltese but proud of their ability to read and write only one or both of the foreign languages and not their mother-tongue.

Maltese language publications today therefore tend solely to deal with Maltese matters and a public within Malta which lacks fluency in written English. Maltese language dictionaries and works of a philological or etymological nature are obvious exceptions to this - especially since the linguistic

1345 177 50. Mr. J. McClement, a Dairying Specialist visited Malta and Gozo from the United Kingdom in the summer of 1957, and, with his assistant Miss Frill, was responsible for much instruction and recommendation on the dairy industry in both Islands (v. Note 39).

OSO 51. The Agricultural and Fishing Industries (Financial Assistance) Act, (No.11 of 1956).

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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178 Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards, Aragonese & Knights of St. John have all been here, some for a short and some for a longer time, and they have nearly all left more or less their footprints on this Island and contributed their quota to the manners of the people.

The Maltese are as tenacious of the old usages and diversions, handed down to them from time immemorial, as any other people in the world. Although usage survives, motive, in most cases is forgotten, and as we will further observe the ideas of the older mythologies are sometimes altered to meet the exigencies of the new Creed.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

big confits are thrown by some evil disposed person, and in such a manner, as to cause injury; in fact the Police authorities issue, every year, notifications warning persons against the throwing of hard substances. 541

On Monday the Governor of the Island gives a fancy dress ball at the Palace, which is always very numerously attended. Some of the costumes worn on this night are indeed magnificent, and the noble marble palace halls and corridors, once thronged by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, present a truly picturesque appearance. A list of the persons present and the costumes worn is annually published in some of the local papers. 541 643

The Carnival is supposed to have been originally instituted in imitation of the Sigillaria or festival days added 541 193 177.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

541 173 •177 to the ancient Saturnalia (*) and was condemned by the Synod of Trullus, where it was decreed that the days called the Calends should entirely be stripped of their ceremonies, and that the faithful should no longer observe them; that the public dancing of women should cease as being the occasion of much harm and ruin, and as being invented and observed in honour of the Gods of the heathens and therefore quite averse to the Christian life.

541 174 177 The author of "Convivial Antiquities" speaking about the ancient Saturnalia, says: that on this- occasion there were

(*) Saturnalia, festivals in honour of *Saturno*, celebrated in Rome about the middle of December. The celebration, which continued for 3 or more days, was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters and to speak with freedom upon every subject.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

frequent and luxurious feastings amongst friends, and changes of dress made, and the Christians have adopted the same customs. 541 174 [177]

He added, that as the heathens had their Saturnalia in December, Lupercalia and Baccanalia (*) in February, so amongst Christians three months are

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(*) Lupercalia, a yearly festival observed at Rome on the 15th of February in honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds. It was usual to sacrifice two goats and a dog. The skins of the victims were cut into throngs, with which whips were made for the youths. With these whips the youths ran about the streets, almost naked, and whipped freely all those whom they met.

Baccanalia, festivals in honour of *Bacchus* (God of vintage, and of wine drinkers) at Rome—during the time of the celebration, the Romans clothed themselves in fawns' skins, fine linen and mitres; they carried "thyrsi" drums, pipes and flutes and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir &c. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity and ran about the streets nodding their heads dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and shouts.

7: Busuttil I, Y-4, 5 (no date) 1894
EZ6 Malta EZ6

the day they were married and when they were buried. They were therefore always employed within doors, and never went out, except at a very early hour to church, when they were entirely covered by a long mantle. This costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the forehead and eyes alone being visible. The upper part of the mantle, covering the head, was cut in a different manner for unmarried women—these wearing it shaped round, while married women wore it pointed.

WEDDINGS

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part consulted only their own interest, and the suitable-

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

these transformed creatures return home towards dawn quite exhausted and awake in the morning quite unconscious of their nocturnal expedition."[1] The derivation of the word *Gaugau* has been given as the Syrian *Hagogo*, a ghost; but surely the *Gaugau* is more than a simple ghost. His behaviour stamps him as a vampire. Busuttil says that "the yearly punishment" is thought to be inflicted because Christ "does not like anyone to be born at the same time he was born," and then suggests that the *Gaugau* came into Malta with the Phoenicians. The Phoenician origin and the popular explanation seem quite irreconcilable until it is recalled that—

> "It is well known that in the transition from paganry to Christianity the Christian clergy, finding it impossible to wean the populace from old customs or to eradicate primitive beliefs, discreetly met the situation by diverting pagan festivals to the honour of Christ. It is not so generally known that December 25th, the Christmas Day of Christendom, was necessarily thus fixed for the reason that this date was the birthday of Mithra, and that the obdurate heathen flatly refused to relinquish their cherished festival. It was not until A.D. 400 that the Church Fathers accepted the inevitable, and tactfully adopted the Birthday of Mithra as the official Birthday of Christianity. At the beginning of the fifth century, S. Chrysostom, referring to the festival of the pagan Sun god, wrote: 'On this day also the birthday of Christ *was lately fixed* at Rome in order that, while the heathens were busy with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their sacred rites undisturbed. They call this (December 25th) the birthday of the Invincible One (Mithra); but who is so invincible as the Lord? They call

[1] BUSUTTIL, *Holiday Customs in Malta*.

8:Brockman T-5 (no date) 1938
EZ6 Malta EZ6

538 Before examining the shapes which the Old Things assume in the Maltese "fairy story," it may be well to examine the nature of the stories themselves. They are, like our own tales, an essential part of the national culture; but they differ from such classics as Little Red Riding Hood, The Three Bears, and The Arabian Nights. These latter belong to a literature. [178] The Maltese folk-tale is part of an oral tradition, ever changing as each succeeding generation has added its touch of contemporary colour and disguised some part of the original sense. Of the literature of the early Maltese, if, indeed, they possessed a literature, no trace remains. Thanks to some few patriots like Father Magri, collections of folk-tales in the vernacular have been made, and there has lately grown up some sort of Maltese literature. It is from collections such as Father Magri's that the literate peasant reads to the family.

[177] The educated Maltese are all too ready to embrace a foreign culture, partly from necessity it is true, but also, because expediency has persuaded them that their own tongue, their own national culture, and their own folklore belong to "the lower orders." So for centuries the remnants of what may well be the oldest civilization in the West—linked with the lost Atlantis and with the dawn of human thought—have been left to peasants and to servants. These lowly folk have stubbornly maintained some life amongst embers which may yet be fanned into a bright flame.

The absence of a literature has one advantage. The folk-tales of a literature become standardized. They are, for that reason, no true mirror of the minds of a people. The people "grow up" but the story remains. "Once upon a time" means distinctly "a very long time ago"; but the *D'erba*—"on a time"—with which every Maltese story commences, might well be used equally of something which happened yesterday, last week, or in the days of King Suleiman. So stories which were once fraught with a religious significance have been

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

ears, a share of their own cosmopolitan culture, of their own standards of civilized life and manners.

They also, it would appear, taught the Maltese how to cook if the origin of some of the more savoury Maltese dishes—*imbuljuta* and *zalzett*, *pastizzi* and *kusksu*, has been correctly ascribed to the kitchens of the Grand Masters' palaces and Auberges of the Knights. One island speciality has even made its way into the *haute cuisine* of Europe as the perfect accompaniment of boiled turbot and similar fish. It is *Sauce Maltaise*—a *Hollandaise* encarnadined and additionally flavoured with the juice and finely shredded peel of the blood-orange, which can be of a deeper red in Malta than anywhere else in the world.

Arms of the Order of S. John

[pp. 111–119 of Text have not been processed. Plates facing p. 112, and 113 have been processed].